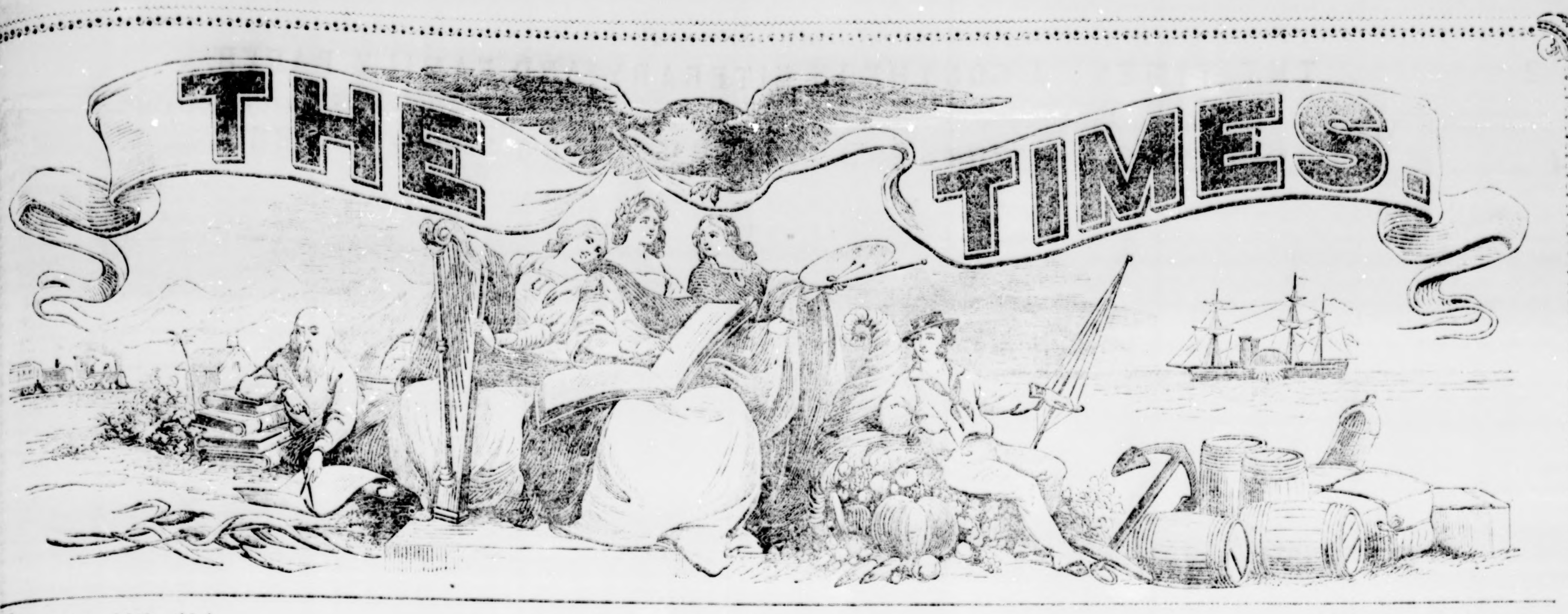

VOL. VI. NO. 31. GREENSBORO, N. C., JULY. 27 1861. WHOLE NO. 266

THE TIMES.

JAMES W. ALBRIGHT,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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THE TIMES is published weekly in Greensboro, N. C., at $2 a year, in advance. No paper sent unless the money accompanies the order, and the paper will be discontinued at the expiration of the time paid for.

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WRITTEN FOR THE TIMES.

LINES ON THE CRISIS.

There is a purpose in the North
Pervading every brain,
Which none but fiends could approve,
Unless they were insane.

'Tis to invade the Southern States
And subjugate each soul,
And fix a tariff at such rates,
To give the north control.

To this we never will submit,
While life and health remain;
But will be battling with the foe,
'Till we are free or slain.

Then come brave sons of southern soil,
And do your duty all—
You'll triumph in your country's cause,
Or for your country fall!

Let him who falters in the way,
Or hesitates to stand,
Be numbered under [illegible]'s sway—
That go with Lincoln's Band;

Who have proclaimed that might is right
And strive alone to spoil—
We'll use the means and trust in God
Their purposes to foil.

For to the swift the race is not
Nor battle to the strong?
In God alone we put our trust,
Who will revenge the wrong.

Now Lord in mercy e'en descend
To pour thy spirit down,
And every humble effort made
For peace, with success crown.

Restrain the Rulers of the North
From the oppressor's way
And guide the South—as they go forth
Be thou their God and stay.

May a convention soon be called,
Of men who're good and true,
From both the sections of our land
Who what is right will do.

Who know no North, no South, no West,
Nor East, nor section at all;
But will devise that which is best
For all and act as stewards.

Whom a just God will summon soon
To stand before his bar,
And each receive his own just doom
For his part in this war.

C.

PRESIDENT DAVIS' MESSAGE.

Gentlemen:—My message, addressed to you at the commencement of the session, contained such full information of the state of the Confederacy as to render it unnecessary that I should do more than call your attention to such important facts as have occurred during the recess, and to matters connected with public defence.

I have again to congratulate you on the accession of new members to our confederation of free and equal sovereign States. Our loved and honored brethren of North Carolina and Tennessee have consummated the action foreseen and provided for at your last session, and I have had the gratification of announcing, by proclamation, in conformity with law, that these States were admitted into the Confederacy. The people of Virginia also, by a majority previously unknown in her history have ratified the action of her Convention, uniting her fortunes with ours. The States of Arkansas, North Carolina and Virginia have likewise adopted the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, and no doubt is entertained of its adoption by Tennessee at the election to be held early next month. I deemed it advisable to direct the removal of the several Executive Departments, with their archives, to this city, to which you had removed the seat of Government.

Immediately after your adjournment, the aggressive movements of the enemy required prompt and energetic action.—The accumulation of his forces on the Potomac sufficiently demonstrated that his efforts were to be directed against Virginia, and from no point could the necessary measures for her defence and protection be so efficiently directed as from her own capital. The rapid progress of events for the last few weeks has fully sufficed to strip the veil from behind which the true policy and purposes of the Government of the United States had been previously concealed—their odious features now stand fully revealed. The message of their President, and the action of their Congress during the present month, confess the intention of subjugating these States by a war whose folly is equaled only by its wickedness—a war by which it is impossible to attain the proposed result; whilst its dire calamities are not to be avoided by us, will fall with double severity on themselves. Commencing, in March last, with the affectation of ignoring the secession of the seven States which first organized the Government; persisting, in April, in the idle and absurd assumption of the existence of a riot, which was to be dispersed by a *posse comitatus*, and continuing in successive months the false representation that these States intended offensive war, in spite of the conclusive evidence to the contrary furnished as well as by official action as by the very basis on which this Government is constituted, the President of the United States and his advisers succeeded in deceiving the people of those States into the belief that the purpose of this Government was, not peace at home, but conquest abroad; not the defence of its own liberties, but the subversion of those of the people of the United States.

The series of manœuvres by which this impression was created, and the art with which they were devised, and the perfidy with which they were executed, were already known to you, but you scarcely have supposed that they would be openly avowed, and their success made the subject of boast and self-laudation in an Executive message. Fortunately for the truth of history, the President of the United States details with minuteness the attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter, in violation of an armistice of which he confesses to have been informed, but only by rumors too vague and uncertain to fix attention.—The hostile expedition dispatched to supply Fort Sumter is admitted to have been undertaken with the knowledge that it was impossible. The sending of a notice to the Governor of South Carolina of his intention to use force to accomplish his object, and then there could be no conflict unless these States were aggressive and we were the aggressors; he proceeds to declare that his conduct, as just related by himself, was the performance of his promise; so free from the power of ingenious sophistry, as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it, and in defiance of his own statement that he gave notice of the approach of the hostile fleet, ch charges these States with becoming the assailants of the United States without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort.

He is indeed, fully justified in saying that the case is so free from ingenious sophistry that the world will not be able to misunderstand it, under the cover of this unfounded pretence that the Confederate States are the assailants. That high functionary after expressing his concern that some foreign nations had so shaped their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our national Union was probable, abandons all further disguise and proposes to make this contest a short and decisive one, by placing at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000. The Congress concurring in the doubt thus intimated as to the sufficiency of the force demanded, has increased it to half a million of men. This enormous preparation in men and money for the conduct of the war on scale more gigantic than that which the New World ever witnessed, is a distinct avowal in the eyes of civilized men that the United States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation; that they are at last compelled to abandon the pretence of being engaged in dispersing rioters and suppressing insurrections, and are driven to the acknowledgement that the ancient Union has been dissolved; they recognise the separate existence of these Confederate States, by interdiction, embargo, and the blockade of all commerce between them and the United States not only by sea, but by land—not only in ships, but in cars—not only with those who bear arms, but with the entire population of the Confederate States.

Finally, they have repudiated the foolish conceit that the inhabitants of this Confederacy are still citizens of the United States, for they are waging an indiscriminate war upon them all, with a savage ferocity unknown to modern civilization. In this war, rapine is the rule, and private residences, in peaceful, rural retreats, are bombarded and burnt; grain crops in the field are consumed by the torch, and when the torch is not convenient, careful labor is bestowed to render complete the destruction of every article of use or ornament remaining in private dwellings after their inhabitants have fled from the outrages of the brutal soldiery. In 1781, Great Britain, when invading her revolted Colonies, took possession of every district of the country near Fortress Monroe, now occupied by the troops of the United States, and the houses then inhabited by the people, after being respected and protected by avowed invaders, are now pillaged and destroyed by men who pretend that the victims are their fellow citizens. Mankind will shudder to hear the tales of outrages committed on defenceless females by the soldiers of the United States now invading our homes: yet these outrages are prompted by inflamed passions and madness of intoxication; but who shall depict the horror with which they regard the cool and deliberate malignity with which, under the pretext of suppressing insurrection, said, by themselves, to be upheld by a minority only of our people, makes especial war on the sick, including women and children, and, by carefully devised measures, prevent their obtaining medicines necessary for their cure. The sacred claims of humanity, respected even during the fury of actual battle, by a careful diversion of attack from the hospitals containing wounded enemies, are outraged in cold blood by a Government and people that pretend to desire a continuance of fraternal connections. All these outrages must remain unavenged, save by the universal reprobation of mankind, in all cases where the actual perpetrators of the wrongs escape capture. They admit of no retaliation: the humanity of our people would shrink instinctively from the bare idea of wagging a like war upon the sick, the women and children of an enemy; but there are other savage practices which have been resorted to by the Government of the United States, which do admit of repression by retaliation.

I have been grieved at the necessity of enforcing this impression. The prisoners of war taken on board the armed schooner Savannah, sailing under our commission, were, as I was credibly advised, treated like common felons, put in irons, confined in a jail usually appropriated to criminals of the worst dye, and threatened with punishment as such. I had made application for an exchange of these prisoners to the commanding officer of the enemies' squadron off Charleston, but that officer had already sent the prisoners to New York when the application was made. I therefore deemed it my duty to renew the proposal for an exchange to the constitutional Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, the only officer having control of the prisoners. In making the proposal, I informed President Lincoln of my resolute purpose to check all barbarities on prisoners of war by such severity and retaliation on prisoners held by us as should secure the abandonment of the practice.

This communication was received and read by the officer in the U. S. Army, and a message was brought from him by the bearer of my communication to the effect that a reply would be returned by President Lincoln as soon as possible. I earnestly hope that this promised reply, which has not yet been received, will convey the assurance that prisoners of war will be treated, in this unhappy contest, with that regard to humanity which has been so conspicuous in modern warfare. As a measure of precaution, however, and until the promised reply is received, I still retain in close custody the men and officers captured from the enemy, whom it had been my pleasure previously to enlarge on parole, and whose fate must necessarily depend on that of the prisoners held by the enemy. I append a copy of my communication to the President and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the report of the officer charged to deliver it. [These reports were not telegraphed with the Message.] There are some other passages in the remarkable document to which I have directed your attention, having reference to the peculiar relations which exist between this Government and the States usually termed Border Slave States, which cannot properly be withheld from notice. The hearts of our people are animated by sentiments towards the inhabitants of these States which found expression in your enactment refusing to consider them enemies, or to authorize hostilities against them. That a very large portion of the people of these States regard us as brethren; that if unrestrained by the actual presence of large armies, the subversion of civil authority, and the declaration of martial law, some of them, at least, would joyfully unite with us; that they are, with almost entire unanimity, opposed to the prosecution of the war waged against us—are facts, of which daily occurring events fully warrant the assertion.

The present United States Government refuses to recognize in these, our late sister States, the right of refraining from attack on us, and justifies his refusal by the assertion that the States have no other power than that reserved to them by the Union and the Constitution, no one of them having ever been a State out of the Union. This view of the constitutional relations leads us to consider another assertion of the message; that the Executive possesses the power of suspending the writ of habeas corpus, and of delegating that power to military commanders at his discretion; and both these propositions claim a respect equal to that which is felt for the additional statement of opinion in the same paper, that it is proper, in order to execute the laws, that some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that practically it relieves more of the guilty than the innocent, should, to a very limited extent, be violated. We may well rejoice that we have forever severed our connection with a Government that thus tramples on all the principles of constitutional liberty, and with a people in whose presence such avowals could be hazarded.

The operations in the field will be greatly extended by reason of the policy which was heretofore secretly entertained, but is now openly avowed and acted on by the United States. The forces hitherto raised proved ample for the defence of the seven States which originally organized the Confederacy, as is evidenced by the fact that, with the exception of three fortified islands, whose defence is efficiently aided by a preponderating naval force, the enemy has been driven completely out of those States, and now, at the expiration of five months from the formation of the Government, not a single hostile foot presses their soil.

These forces, however, must necessarily prove inadequate to repel invasion by a half million of men now proposed by the enemy, and a corresponding increase of our force will become necessary. The recommendation for the raising of an efficient equipment for this additional force will be contained in a communication from the Secretary of War, to which I need scarcely invite your earnest attention.

In my Message delivered in April last, I referred to the promise of abundant crops with which we are cheered. The grain crops generally have since been harvested, and the yield proved to be the most abundant known in our history. Many believe that the supply will be adequate to two years' consumption of our population.—Cotton, sugar and tobacco, forming the surplus production of our agriculture, and furnishing the basis of our commercial interchanges, present the most cheering promise, and a kind Providence has smiled on the labor which extracts the teeming wealth of our soil in all portions of our Confederacy. It is the more gratifying to be able to give you this information, because of the need of large and increased expenditures in the supply of our army.

Elevated and purified by the sacred cause which they maintain, our fellow citizens, of every condition of life, exhibit the most self-sacrificing devotion. They manifest a laudable pride in upholding their independence, unaided by any resources other than their own; and the immense wealth which a fertile and genial climate have accumulated in this Confederacy of agriculturalists, could not be more strikingly displayed than in the large revenue which, with eager zeal, they have contributed at the call of their country. In the single article of cotton, the subscriptions to the loan proposed by the Government cannot fall short of fifty millions of dollars, and will probably largely exceed that sum; and scarcely an article required for the consumption of our armies has been provided otherwise than by the subscriptions to the produce loan so happily devised by your wisdom.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report submitted to you, will give you the amplest details in connection with that branch of the public service.

But it is not alone in their prompt pecuniary contributions that the noble race of freemen who inhabit these States evince how worthy they are of those liberties which they so well know how to defend. In numbers far exceeding those authorized by your laws, they have pressed the tender of their services against the enemy. Their attitude of calm and sublime devotion to their country—the cool and confident courage with which they are already preparing to meet the threatened invasion in whatever proportions it may assume—the assurance that their sacrifices will be renewed from year to year with unfaltering purpose, until they have made good to the uttermost their right of self-government—the generous and almost unquestionable confidence which they display in their Government during the pending struggle—all combine to present a spectacle such as the world has rarely if ever seen. To speak of subjugating such a people, so united and determined, is to speak a language incomprehensible to them. To resist an attack on their rights and liberties is with them an instinct.

Whether this war shall last one, three or five years, is a problem they leave to be solved by the enemy alone. It will last until the enemy shall have withdrawn from their borders—till their political rights, their altars and their homes are freed from invasion. Then, and then only, will they rest from this struggle, and enjoy in peace the blessing which, with the favor of Providence, they have secured by the aid of their own strong hearts and sturdy arms.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

☞ The troops from below are moving again. Several trains passed this week.

WAR NEWS.

Battle of Carthage, Missouri.

ST. LOUIS; July 16.—The following from the Louisville *Courier*, gives the particulars of this fight from a doctor who was in the fight:

"That the brave State troops met the Federals under Col. Seigel's command unexpectedly, at about eight miles north of Carthage. They were 2,500 strong, and having the choice of ground, had planted their cannon in the most commanding position. Gov. Jackson, with twelve thousand men, of whom only about two thousand were armed, except with shot-guns, determined to give them battle. He had only eight pieces of cannon, which he planted as best he could. Seigel opened the fire on them, which was kept up for eight hours, when our cavalry outflanked them and made a charge, which broke their ranks. The Federals then retreated in some confusion, our boys cutting off about seven hundred of their number, four cannon, and a great number of wagons, army supplies and horses. A running fight was then kept up for eight miles to Carthage, our boys cutting them down along the entire route.

When at Carthage, Col. Seigel made a stand, but was routed, leaving 18 wagons of provisions, camp equipage, mules, and one wagon load of cakes, pies, &c., intended for a feast for the Federals after cleaning out our boys—a good joke, but badly spoilt. Our brave State troops still charged them three miles south of Carthage, when they were checked by night overtaking them. They then rested for refreshments, which it may be imagined they wanted badly. On the following morning, Ben. McCulloch joined them with 6,000 Rangers, who followed the Federals on Saturday, the result of which had not been ascertained up to the time our messenger left; but as Gen. Price, with 3,000 men, was advancing on them from the South of Carthage, they certainly captured the whole command.

Instead of 600 being killed as reported by the Federalists, only 46 were killed and wounded.

Battle of Bull's Run.

RICHMOND, July 18.—Authentic advices from Manassas state that the U. S. troops advanced this morning in a column of 10,000 men, and that, after four hours' fighting, they were repulsed with immense slaughter by the Confederate troops, numbering 7,000, under Gen. Bonham.

It is not yet known what United States officer conducted the attack. The fighting extended along Bull's Run for the distance of one mile.

The battle lasted, with intermissions, during the greater part of the day, the U. S. troops being three times repulsed, with heavy loss, and three times rallying again to the attack. At four o'clock in the afternoon the battle reached its height. The enemy finally gave way and retreated in great confusion towards Alexandria. At five o'clock the firing had ceased altogether.

On the 19th an official report of the battle reached Richmond.

The Confederate loss was 60 killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was over 500.

On the same day a flag of truce was sent to Gen. Beauregard, asking permission to bury their dead. It was promptly granted. This lasted all day Friday and part of Saturday—so no fighting took place during that time.

Two cannon and 500 stand of arms were captured from the Yankees.

The Federal Account of the Manassas Battle.

LOUISVILLE, July 22nd, 1861—The following news of the Confederate victory creates the most intense excitement here, startling the public mind.

The morning papers having published despatches from Washington containing the proclamation of a brilliant victory for the Federalists, there is now great rejoicing over the truth among the Southern rights men.

The dispatch received here (Louisville,) from Washington under date of Monday at noon, says:—"Our troops (Federalists) after gaining a great victory were eventually repulsed, and commenced a retreat on Washington. After this information from Centreville last night, a series of events took place in the highest degree disastrous, and many confused statements are prevailing, but enough is known to warrant the statement that we have suffered to a degree which casts a gloom over the movements of the country, and excites the deepest melancholy throughout Washington.

The carnage was tremendously heavy on both sides, and ours is represented as frightful.

We were advancing, taking masked batteries gradually, but surely, driving the enemy towards Manassas, when the enemy seemed to be reinforced by General Johnston. We were immediately driven back and a panic among our troops suddenly occurred. A *regular stampede* took place. It is understood that Gen. McDowell undertook to make a stand near Centreville, but the panic was so fearful that the whole army became demoralized, and it was impossible to check them either at Centreville or Fairfax Court House.

A large number of troops, in their retreat fell on the wayside from exhaustion and are scattered along the route all the way from Fairfax Court House. The road from Bull's Run is strewn with arms and knapsacks discarded by the troops to better facilitate their retreat. General McDowell was in the rear of the retreat, endeavouring to rally his men with only partial success.

Only two hundred of the Fire Zouaves (Edsworth's) are left from the slaughter.—The sixty-ninth and other New York regiments suffered frightfully.

Sherman's, the Carlisle, Griffin's and the West Point Batteries have been taken by the Confederates; also, the eight large thirty two pound rifled cannon. Col. Wilcox, in command of a brigade, and Capt. (Col) McCook, are killed. Col. Hentzleman is wounded. Washington is a scene of the most intense excitement.—Wagons are continually arriving bringing in the dead and wounded. The feeling in the City is awfully distressing.—Both steamboat and telegraph communication with Alexandria are suspended. The fortifications are strongly reinforced with fresh troops. It is supposed that General Mansfield has taken command of the fortifications on the other side of the river.—Large rifled cannon and mortars are being rapidly sent over.

Further Details by an Eye Witness.

Special Dispatch to the Wilmington Journal.

RICHMOND, July 22–12 P. M.

The enemy opened their batteries at McLean's ford, on Bull Run, at 8 o'clock Sunday morning, with heavy guns and rifled cannon. The small field pieces were intended as a mere feint and to draw our fire. We did not respond.

They chose their own position a few miles above Stone Bridge, on Bull Run, where the principal battle was fought, the enemy's attempt being to turn our left flank. The battle raged for four hours at that point.

The fire on both sides was terrific.—The men on both sides never fought better, the enemy having largely the advantage in numbers and artillery.

Between three and four o'clock our brave men began to waver, and the result hung in the balance, when Generals Beauregard and Johnston threw themselves into the thickest of the fight. Gen Beauregard has covered himself with glory.

Lieut. Col. Johnston, of the Hampton (S. C.) Legion, being killed, and Col. Hampton wounded, Gen Beauregard led the Legion into action in his usual gallant style. He had his horse's head shot off by a shell; and the horses of Messrs. Heywood and Ferguson, of S. C., two of his aids, were killed by the same shell.

Reinforcements having come up just at the critical moment, the result began to turn in our favor; the enemy falling back, though in good order.

Col Bartow, of Georgia, was struck from his horse while leading a magnificent charge of his regiment, with his colors in his hand.

Gen. Beauregard commanded during the day, and was in all parts of the field, being several hours under a heavy fire, escaping many shell and rifled shot that were thrown at him. I myself saw a shell burst not twenty yards from him. Gen. Johnson aided him, although he was entitled by superior rank to the command.

The panorama was magnificent beyond description, the line of battle extending for seven miles.

The Washington Artillery, (from New Orleans,) did great execution. Sergt. Joshua Reynolds, the only one killed, was struck in the forehead while giving the word of command. The Artillery took their stand close to the Michigan regiment. Privates John Payne and Crutcher were wounded.

Part of the 7th and 8th Louisana regiments were in the action, but particulars not ascertained. Major Wheat was badly wounded, and his recovry is barely possible. His battalion was badly cut up.

The enemy was commanded immediately by Gen. McDowell, who is said to have had 60,000 men. Our force in all is estimated at 35,000 at Stone Ridge.

Gen. Scott is said by persons to have been a few miles off. We hear nothing of Patterson.

Our numbers immediately engaged were fifteen thousand.

The enemy was totally routed. We captured thirty pieces of Artillery, thirty wagons laden with provisions and five hundred prisoners.

Among the prisoners were Col. Corcoran, of the New York Irish service; Col. Wilcox, a Captain and three privates.—

The Michigan regiment surrendered to the Confederate 28th Virginia regiment.

Edward Carrington, nephew of the late William C. Preston, a Virginian who fought against us, is also a prisoner.

Col. Kemper's Alexandria artillery did effective service.

It is impossible to obtain the details of the killed and wounded as yet.

Confederate Congress.

RICHMOND, VA., July 22d—10:15 P. M.—Congress met at noon to-day. After prayer the following dispatch dated Manassas, Sunday night, was read by the Clerk:

"*To Gen. S. Cooper, Adj't General*—

"Night has closed upon a hard fought field. Our forces have won a glorious victory. The enemy was routed and fled precipitately, abandoning a very large amount of arms, munitions, knapsacks and baggage. The ground was strewn for miles with those killed, and the farm-houses and grounds around were filled with his wounded.

The pursuit was continued along several routes towards Leesburg and Centreville, until darkness covered the fugitives.

"We have captured several field batteries and regimental stand of arms, and one United States flag. Many prisoners have been taken.

"Too high praise cannot be bestowed, either for the skill of the principal officers or for the gallantry of all the troops.

"The battle was mainly on our left, several miles from our field work. Our forces engaged is believed not to exceed 15,000, and that of the enemy estimated at 35,000.

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. Memminger, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we recognise the hand of the Most High God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, in the glorious victory with which he hath crowned our army at Manassas; and that the people of these Confederate States are invited by appropriate services on the ensuing Sabbath, to offer up their united thanks-giving thanks and praise for this mighty deliverance.

Resolved, That deeply deploring the necessity which has washed the soil of our country in the blood of so many of our noblest sons we offer to their respective families and friends our warmest and most cordial sympathy, assuring them that the sacrifice made will be consecrated in the hearts of our people, and will there enshrine the name of the gallant dead as the champions of free and constitutional liberty.

Resolved, That we approve of the prompt and patriotic efforts of the Mayor of the city of Richmond, to make provision for the wounded, and that a committee of one member from each State be appointed to co-operate in the plan.

Resolved, That Congress do now adjourn.

The city is full of rumors about the number of killed and wounded of both sides. Movements are making, but all reports are unreliable.

The body of Gen. Francis S. Bartow, and perhaps others, is expected on the train to-night.

A TOUCHING INCIDENT.—A correspondent writing from Philadelphia to the Louisville *Democrat*, relates the following:

Whilst an aged and poorly-clad female was asking alms at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets, a small looking sailor passed within a few feet of her, gazing intently for several seconds on her haggard face. She approached him, and extended her palm in silence. Instantly his hand found its way to his capacious pocket, and when he drew it out it was filled with gold and silver, which he forced her to accept, saying:

"There, good mother, take this; you may as well have it as the landsharks.—The last cruise I had out of New York found me with four hundred dollars in hand; but, as the neighbors told me my old mother was dead, I got on a spree with the money, spent it all inside of a week, and then shipped again."

"O! good—good sir! you are too kind to an old body like me. For your sake, I will take it. Oh! how you remind me of my poor son, George, who shipped and was drowned. Oh! George—George White! where are you now?"

"George White!" hurriedly exclaimed the now excited sailor. "Why, that's my name! And you—you are my mother!" With this he seized her in his arms and kissed her affectionately, whilst the big tears of joy ran down his bronzed cheek. The poor woman was entirely overcome by the recovery of her long-lost child, and wept and groaned alternately. A carriage shortly after conveyed the mother and son away, leaving many a moistened eye among the crowd who witnessed the scene.

Letter From Mr. Vallandigham.

DAYTON, OHIO, May 13, 1861.

To Messrs. Richard H. Hendrickson, N. G. Oglesby, Jas. McClellan, William J. Wikle, Simon Goldman, James G. Lummis, D. H. Peak, J. H. Hand, John H. Jones, A. G. Clendenning, H. P. Clough, I. C. Farris, and W. W. Settell, Middletown, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 7th inst, requesting my opinion upon certain points connected with what you justly style the present "inglorious, and it may be, bloody war," has been received. That opinion was long since formed, and repeatedly set forth through the press or by speech and vote in the House of Representatives last winter, and re-affirmed in a card on the 17th of last month, a few days after the commencement of the war. But inasmuch as I never had the occasion to discuss this particular question at length, I beg leave to adopt the following admirable summary of the case in an extract from a carefully prepared and exceedingly able speech of the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, in the Senate of the United States, March 15, 1861:

"I prefer such an amicable settlement to peaceable disunion; and I prefer it a thousand times to civil war. If we can adopt such amendments as will be satisfactory to Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and the other border States, the plan of pacification which will satisfy them will create a Union party in the Cotton States which will embrace a large majority of the people in those States, and bring them back of their own free will and accord; and thus restore, strengthen and perpetuate the glorious old Union forever. Whatever guarantees will satisfy Maryland and the border States (the States now in the Union,) will create a Union party in the seceded States that will bring them back by the voluntary action of their own people. You can restore and preserve the Government in that mode. You can do it in no other.

War is disunion. War is final, eternal separation. Hence, disguise it as you may, every Union man in America must advocate such amendments to the Constitution as will preserve peace and restore the Union; while every disunionist, whether openly or secretly plotting its destruction, is the advocate of peaceful secession, or war, as the surest means of rendering reunion and reconstruction impossible. I have too much respect for his intellect to believe, for one moment, that there is a man for war who is not a disunionist per se. Hence I do not mean, if I can prevent it, that the enemies of the Union—men plotting to destroy it—shall drag this country into war, under the pretext of protecting the public property, and enforcing the laws, and collecting the revenue, when their object is disunion, and war the means of accomplishing a cherished purpose.

The disunionists, therefore, are divided into two classes: the one open, the other secret disunionists. The one is in favor of peaceful secession and a recognition of independence; the other is in favor of war; as the surest means of accomplishing the object, and of making the separation final and eternal. I am a Union man, and hence against war; but if the Union must be temporarily broken by a revolution, and the establishment of a *de facto* Government by some of the States, let no act be done that will prevent restoration and future preservation Peace is the only policy that can lead to that result.

But we are told, and we hear it repeated every-where, that we must find out whether we have got a Government.—"Have we a Government?" is the question, and we are told we must test that question by using the military power to put down all discontented spirits. Sir, the question, "have we a government!" has been propounded by every tyrant who has tried to keep his feet on the necks of the people since the world began. When the barons demanded Magna Charta from King John at Runneymede, he exclaimed "have we a Government?" and called for his army to put down the discontented barons. When Charles I attempted to collect the ship's money in violation of the Constitution of England, and in disregard to the rights of the people, and was resisted by them, he exclaimed "have we a Government? We cannot treat with rebels; put down the traitors; we must show that we have a Government." When James II. was driven from the throne of England for trampling on the liberties of the people, he called for his army, and exclaimed, "let us show that we have a Government!" When George III. called upon his army to put down rebellion in America, Lord North cried out lustily, "no compromise with traitors; let us demonstrate that we have a Government." When, in 1848, the people rose upon their tyrants all over Europe, and demanded guarantees for their rights, every crowned head exclaimed, "have we a Government?" and appealed to the army to vindicate their authority and enforce the law.

Sir, the history of the world does not fail to condemn the folly, weakness, and wickedness of that Government which drew its sword upon its own people when they demanded guarantees for their rights.—This cry that we must have a government, is merely following the example of the besotted Bourbon, who never learned anything by misfortune, never forgave an injury, never forgot an affront. Must we demonstrate that we have got a Government, and coerce obedience without reference to the justice of the complaints?—Sir, whenever ten million of people proclaim to you, with one unanimous voice, that they apprehend their rights, their firesides, and their family altars are in danger, it becomes a wise government to listen to the appeal, and to remove the apprehension History does not record an example where any human government has been strong enough to crush ten million of people into subjection when they believed their rights and liberties were imperiled without first converting the government itself into a despotism, and destroying the last vestage of freedom."

These were the sentiments of the Democratic party of the Constitutional Union party, and a large majority of the Republican presses and party only six weeks ago. They were mine: I voted then repeatedly along with every Democrat and Union man in the House. I have seen nothing to change, much to confirm, them since; especially in the secession, within the last thirty days, of Virginia, Arkansas, North-Carolina, and Tennessee, taking with them four millions and a half of people, immense wealth, inexhaustible resources, five hundred thousand fighting men, and the graves of Washington and Jackson. I shall vote them again.

Waiving the question of the doubtful legality of the first proclamation, of April 15th, calling out the militia for "three months," under the act of 1795, I will yet vote to pay them, because they had no motive but supposed duty, and patriotism, to move them; and, moreover, they will have rendered almost the entire service required of them, before Congress shall meet. But the audacious usurpation of President Lincoln, for which he deserves impeachment, in daring, against the very letter of the Constitution, and without the shadow of law, to "raise and support armies" and to "provide and maintain a navy," for three or five years, by mere executive proclamation, I will not sustain or ratify—NEVER. Millions for defense: not a man or a dollar for aggressive and offensive war.

The war has had many motives for its commencement: it can have but one result, whether it last one year or fifteen years—final, eternal separation, disunion. As for conquest and subjugation of the South, I will not impeach the intelligence of any man among you, by assuming that you dream of it as at any time or in any way possible. Remember the warning of Lord Chatham to the British parliament: "My Lords, you cannot conquer America." A public debt of hundreds of millions, weighing us and our posterity down for generations, we cannot escape. Fortunate shall we be if we escape with our liberties. Indeed it is no longer so much a question of war with the South, as whether we ourselves are to have constitutions and a republican form of government hereafter in the North and West.

In brief: I am for the Constitution first and at all hazards; for whatever can now be saved of the Union next; and for peace always as essential to the preservation of either. But whatever one may think of the war, one thing at least, every lover of liberty ought to demand inexorably: that it shall be carried on strictly subject to the Constitution.

The peace policy was tried: it arrested secession, and promised a restoration of the Union. The policy of war is now upon trial: in twenty days it has driven four States and four million and a half of people out of the Union and into the Confederacy of the South. In a little while longer it will drive out, also, two or four more States and two millions or three millions of people. War may, indeed, be the policy of the East; but peace is a necessity to the West.